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86-123

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

July 14, 1959

VIA LIAISON

275 WEW/mdm
1/5/88
NLE 86-123

Honorable Gordon Gray
Special Assistant to the President
Executive Office Building
Washington 25, D. C.

My dear Mr. Gray:

I thought you would be interested in the attached summary concerning pertinent activities of the Communist Party, USA, during the period January 1 to June 30, 1959. u

You will note that Copy Number 7 has been designated for your use. u

Upon removal of classified enclosure, this transmittal letter becomes unclassified. u

Sincerely yours,

Enclosure

DECLASSIFIED
Authority MR 86-123 #1
By LRS NLE Date 1/26/88

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COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

SUMMARY - ACTIVITIES

(January 1, 1959, to June 30, 1959)

Copy No. 7

July 13, 1959

CONFIDENTIAL

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PART ONE

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Introduction:

During the past six months, the Communist Party, USA, has been busily engaged in consolidating its ranks and working hard to formulate plans, policies and programs which will revitalize the organization and will enable it to have definite and concrete proposals to present to the membership at the forthcoming national convention. Party leaders are optimistic for the future of the Party. Typical of their feelings was a remark made by Robert Thompson immediately prior to his return to prison on May 20, 1959, when he stated the Party's convention preparations will be of the greatest assistance in enabling the Party to "make a leap forward."

The Party leadership is extremely anxious to present a solid front at the 17th National Convention which it hopes will result in returning to Party membership many of those who became inactive or resigned during the period of intense factionalism.

The true nature of the international communist conspiracy with its ultimate aim of world domination was clearly demonstrated during the recently concluded 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. There can be no doubt about the fact that this congress was utilized as a device by the Soviets to influence, instruct and educate delegates from communist parties throughout the world. Although disavowing the existence of any type of international communist federation such as the former Communist International and Communist Information Bureau, it is obvious that the 21st Congress was used by the Soviets for just such international purposes.

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Current Status of Communist Party Leadership:

[redacted]

There are, however, some undercurrents of dissension among the Party's top leaders. A feeling exists that William Z. Foster and Benjamin J. Davis may be making trouble for James Jackson and Eugene Dennis. It is a known fact that Foster is much disturbed over the weakness of the leadership being given the Party by Dennis. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn recently referred to Benjamin Davis as a "Negro nationalist" and bitterly criticized the attitude of Irving Potash who she said was unable to accept criticism or advice. The opinion has been expressed by some Party leaders that Gus Hall was elected to the position in the Midwest because of Dennis' fear that Hall would gain too much power in New York City.

Publicly the Party confidently claims it is restoring its ties to the masses with particular emphasis in the ranks of labor and among the Negroes.

The Provisional Organizing Committee to Reconstitute a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party (POC), the ultraleft group, has undergone a split and is wracked with dissension. In March, 1959, the New York Waterfront Section resigned from the POC as a result of criticism of Angel Torres by POC leaders. Torres was a member of this section and had been the editor of the POC newspaper, the "Marxist-Leninist Vanguard." The POC is planning to hold a national convention in August or early September, 1959, which it is expected will attract 35 to 40 delegates.

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National Headquarters:

The Party's national office is located at 23 West 26th Street, New York City. The national committee of the Communist Party, USA, has decided to refer the question of moving Party headquarters to Chicago to the membership at the forthcoming 17th National Convention. Most Party leaders contend that changed conditions in the United States would now make a move impractical.

National Conventions:

Reservations have been made to hold the 17th National Convention at Academy Hall in New York City on November 26-29, 1959.

National Committee:

This committee meets approximately four times a year and is empowered to take such action as may be required for continuing Party operations between national conventions.

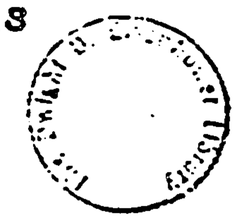
The composition of this committee has changed during the past six months to the extent that Gus Hall was elected to the committee in April, 1959. Hall was elected to this committee promptly upon completion of the terms of his conditional release from prison as a result of a Smith Act conviction. Also, Norman Haaland, Oregon State Communist Party chairman, has replaced Cassie Dean Jones as the national committee representative from Oregon.

Exhibit A, attached, is a chart showing the individuals who comprise this committee.

National Executive Committee:

This is the main policy-making body of the Communist Party, USA, and meets approximately once a month. The vacancy which existed on this committee was filled in April, 1959, with the election of Gus Hall who was assigned the position of Midwest Regional Secretary. Hall has sold his gas station in Cleveland and will very likely move his residence from Cleveland to Chicago in the near future.

Exhibit B shows the identities of the individuals who make up this committee.



National Officers:

The following individuals are considered to be the national officers of the Party.

Eugene Dennis - General Secretary
Robert Thompson - Executive Secretary
James Jackson - Negro Affairs Committee
Arnold Johnson - Public Affairs Committee
Elizabeth Gurley Flynn - National Field Organizer
Hyman Lumer - Education Director
Irving Potash - Labor Secretary
Gus Hall - Midwest Regional Secretary

Although Robert Thompson was returned to Federal custody on May 20, 1959, to complete service of his prison sentence for contempt of court, there is apparently no change in his status as an officer of the Party. Philip Bart has assumed many of Thompson's jobs in the Party but, as national organizational secretary, he has not been considered for membership on the national executive committee and it may be assumed that he holds his position only as an appointee of the national executive committee.

There is presently some discussion in Party circles about bringing Charlene Mitchell, now in Los Angeles, into the national office to handle youth matters which are now considered to be the responsibility of Hyman Lumer.

Other National Functionaries:

In addition to the national officers, the below-listed Party functionaries have all been active in various phases of Party activity on a national scale.

James Allen - Chairman, Program Committee
Eric Bert - Managing Editor of "The Worker"
Sylvia Hall - Treasurer, Southern Regional Committee
Abraham B. Magil - Latin American Matters
William L. Patterson - General Manager of "The Worker"
Jack Shulman - Acting Administrative Secretary-Treasurer
Alexander Trachtenberg - Head of International Publishers, Communist Publishing Firm
Isadore Wofsy - Financial Matters
Lemuel Harris - Financial Matters
Herbert Aptheker - Editor of "Political Affairs"
Philip Bart - National Organizational Secretary

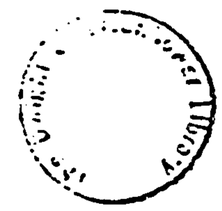
Principal Meetings:

Several important meetings of the Party have been held during the past six months.

[redacted]

Reports of Party functionaries on their trips to the Soviet Union were heard at the April meeting. Robert Thompson also gave a report on matters which he believed must be stressed during the Party's preconvention discussions. He said the main purpose of the discussions should be to further consolidate the unity of the Party and to increase the effectiveness of its role in the trade-union, Negro, youth and political action fields.

[redacted]



35th Anniversary Celebration of "The Worker":

Approximately 600 people attended this meeting held at Park Palace, New York City, on March 1, 1959. The main speakers included Jacob Stachel whose topic was Negro and integration problems, Joseph North who told of his personal experiences in Cuba following the Cuban Revolution and William L. Patterson who pointed out the financial problems facing "The Worker." Patterson asked for donations for the newspaper and it was reported that an "amount in the hundreds of dollars" was collected.

Banquet to Honor Gus Hall:

The Party had one of its largest turnouts in recent years when over 300 persons attended a banquet in Cleveland, Ohio, on May 10, 1959, to welcome Gus Hall back to Party activities after "eight years of enforced silence caused by prison and parole." Almost $1,000 was raised for "The Worker" and for the general Party fund drive at this banquet. Hall emphasized his unwavering

faith in socialism and appealed for a return to the Party of those who had left and who later realized they had taken a step in the wrong direction.

International Relations:

1. Travel of Communist Party Functionaries to the Soviet Union:

A number of Party leaders visited the Soviet Union during the past six months, including several who timed their visits to coincide with the meeting of the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. James Jackson, as an official delegate from the Communist Party, USA, addressed the 21st Congress on February 2, 1959, stating that the Communist Party, USA, will find great inspiration and powerful moral support in the challenge given by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to fraternal communist parties to work hard for the "preservation and strengthening of peace." Jackson promised that the Communist Party, USA, would not spare itself in the struggle to prevent the imperialists from pushing the United States into a war and he said the Party is now building on the firm principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The Party has been capitalizing on the foreign travels of individuals such as Jackson and Morris through nationwide speaking tours where these persons have been giving "eyewitness" accounts of their experiences in the Soviet Union and other Iron Curtain countries.

It is noted Jackson also attended the Third Congress of the Polish Communist Party as an official delegate of the Communist Party, USA, following his visit in Russia. In his speech at this congress, reported in "The Worker" on April 12, 1959, Jackson predicted that the Soviet Union "in fraternal embrace with other socialist countries" will progress from socialism to communism within "our" generation and as that day approaches, the workers in the United States will be able to rise against the capitalists to bring socialism to America.

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2. Reaction of Communist Party, USA, to Cuban Revolution:

A Party statement signed by Eugene Dennis and Robert Thompson for the national executive committee and published on February 8, 1959, hailed the success of the forces of Fidel Castro in capturing the Government of Cuba in January, 1959. It claimed this victory to be a "historic rebuff to imperialism and native tyranny." The Party pledged its full support to the revolutionary forces and to assist Cuba in defending its rise to full sovereignty, independence and economic and social welfare. The Party launched a vicious propaganda attack against American imperialism and its alleged control over governments in Latin and South America.

Joseph North, foreign editor of "The Worker," was dispatched at once to Cuba to cover the revolution and since his return to the United States, he has been giving glowing accounts to various groups throughout the country concerning the contributions made by the Communist Party of Cuba to the success of the revolution. Thousands of copies of a Party-published pamphlet entitled "Cuba's Revolution - I Saw the People's Victory" by Joseph North have been distributed throughout the United States, in both the English and Spanish languages.

3. Communist Party, USA, Support for a Summit Meeting:

On April 5, 1959, an editorial in "The Worker" called for a summit meeting with the Soviet Union this summer where agreements could be reached on the Berlin situation, a ban on nuclear weapons and a German peace treaty. Readers were requested to write letters to President Eisenhower and the State Department demanding that the meeting be continued until agreements are reached on these matters.

The Communist Party, USA, considered the Geneva Conference of foreign ministers of such importance that "The Worker" devoted three pages and the editorial in the May 17, 1959, edition to the

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German situation. The sum and substance of the propaganda was a demand for a demilitarized and neutralized West Berlin and Germany. Lack of a German peace treaty was laid at the feet of the United States and charges were leveled against the Western nations for having "torn up" the Potsdam agreement.

Membership:

The Party definitely recognizes the need to take specific and aggressive action to bolster its membership. The public meetings held in major cities which were addressed by James Jackson, George Morris and Joseph North were part of the Party's program designed to attract not only active Party members and sympathizers but also those persons who have been inactive in recent Party affairs. It was hoped that through this medium, these people would once again assume an active role in the Party.

During the past six months, Eugene Dennis has made several trips to the Midwest to analyze the effectiveness of the Party's organization and program and to generate interest in rebuilding Party membership in those areas which he visited. In other sections of the country such as upstate New York, state and county organizers are making the rounds of their districts for the purpose of holding meetings with clubs and sections which have been disorganized or dormant for several years. This action is in line with the continued Party emphasis on the importance of work in the lower echelons to build the Party organization.

According to the latest estimates, the Party membership is currently approximately 6,400.

Security Measures:

Many rank-and-file Party members dislike having their Party connections made public. For instance, since the release of a publication by the House Committee on Un-American Activities reporting the results of committee hearings relating to Communist Party activity in Southern California, two sections of the Southern California District of the Communist Party have not met for security reasons.

Negro Question:

This line, which calls for equality for the Negro throughout the United States in all phases of political, social and economic life is, of course, a radical departure from the former Party position which proposed a separate Negro nation within the United States and the right of self-determination for the Negro. The new program was presented to the membership in an article prepared by William Z. Foster and Benjamin Davis printed in "Political Affairs" in April, 1959. This article stated that the struggle of the Negro people is not static but constantly changes character in response to rapid and radical changes in environment in which the Negro masses live. As a result of the current strong movement for integration, the slogan of self-determination is inapplicable but the Party will continue to tirelessly cultivate the militancy and solidarity of the Negro people.

The Party continues to exploit all incidents involving racial violence or alleged unfair treatment of Negroes. The removal of Mack Charles Parker from the Poplarville, Mississippi, jail by a band of hooded white men in May, 1959, provided an issue which sparked an intensified propaganda and publicity campaign by the Party press. On May 17, 1959, "The Worker" printed a statement by the national executive committee which condemned the "wave of terror" in the South and stated it was the duty of all three branches of the Federal Government to intercede in protecting the constitutionally guaranteed citizenship rights of the Negro in the South. A campaign of letters and telegrams to

President Eisenhower was initiated by the Party requesting resolute action by the Federal Government to guarantee the lives and liberties of Negro citizens in the South.

In line with its efforts to intensify its work among the Negroes, an office was recently opened at 203 West 126th Street in the Harlem area of New York City. This office is frequented by Benjamin Davis and is often referred to as the Harlem Communist Party office.

Youth Matters:

The formation of a youth organization is a primary target of the Communist Party, USA, at this time.

Classes to indoctrinate Communist Party youth in Party policy and discipline were commenced in New York City on April 11, 1959, and a nine-day school open to all young people was held in New York City in June, 1959. Immediately following the latter school, 20 volunteers, all Communist Party members, were scheduled to attend a school to train youth in how to engage in youth activities.

In an effort to encourage young people to read "The Worker," a youth page was inaugurated in that newspaper on February 15, 1959, and has continued to be a regular feature of the paper each week.

In May, 1959, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn made the statement that the chief threat to the continued existence of the Party is not the Government nor factionalism, but old age. She said there are no young leaders of any talent or promise primarily because the old leaders refuse to believe that anyone else is capable of leading the Party.

Funds:

[redacted]

The Party initiated a fund drive for support of its east coast newspaper, "The Worker," which commenced on April 15, 1959, with the goal of raising $60,000 by the end of June, 1959.

This drive has proven to be a disappointment to the Party inasmuch as the fund drive had attained a total of only $10,793 through June 14, 1959. However, the fund drive initiated by the Communist Party on the west coast for support of the west coast communist newspaper, "People's World," which was initiated on April 15, 1959, with a quota of $62,500, has been a great deal more successful. As of June 13, 1959, this fund drive had achieved a total of $34,362.63.

Strategy In Industry:

In recent months, the Party has devoted increasing attention to the matter of infiltrating and increasing its strength in the nation's basic industries. Singled out as prime targets were the railroad, steel and automobile industries. As in the past, the Party's efforts to further penetrate these industries are directed primarily at attempts to gain control of various trade-unions.

The national executive committee was told in February, 1959, that the major effort of the Party must be directed toward moving a number of key unions into the struggle over problems of the workers. It was indicated that this could be accomplished by developing the most comprehensive united front on all levels in the unions on a number of key issues. The members of the national executive committee were told that the Party's attention should be directed to giving the fullest support everywhere for the struggles and campaigns initiated by the unemployed auto workers in Michigan; promoting nationwide trade-union support for the steel workers' demands in the coming negotiations; promoting broad united solidarity actions in support of all strikes; stimulating the demand for a united organizing drive in the South; and developing action in trade-unions to gain support for Negro liberation.

In February, 1959, the Party's national headquarters distributed throughout the Party a letter which detailed the hardships suffered by families in the industrial areas due to unemployment and urged Party clubs to undertake specific objectives in a renewed national endeavor to stimulate and participate in a united front in mass union activity. As an example of the importance placed by the national Communist Party on stepped-up activities in the industrial union area, Irving Potash, a long-time "labor expert" in the Communist Party, was appointed national labor secretary of the Communist Party and appointed as a member of its national executive committee. Potash's assignment is to direct the Communist Party on a national level in its attempt to further penetrate our nation's industries. In furtherance of its program, the Party has held several important meetings in the recent past.

The Party's national auto commission met in Chicago, Illinois, on January 10-11, 1959. A leading Midwestern communist functionary in presenting a main report regarding the United Auto Workers Union noted that there were some hopeful signs as certain

union leaders were seeking advice and assistance from the Party. He suggested that the Party should become more active in activities designed to bring about the amending of the Fair Labor Standards Act in propaganda campaigns in unions for a six-hour day, the repeal of Section 9H of the Taft-Hartley Act (the law requiring labor union officers to sign noncommunist affidavits) and in promoting sentiment in unions for trade with foreign countries and exchange delegations.

On February 21-22, 1959, the Party held a regional labor conference in Chicago, Illinois, attended by communist delegates from the Midwestern industrial area. A prominent communist leader opened the conference stating that its purpose would be to examine methods of work in shop groups with the ultimate goal of improving the Party's method of infiltrating trade-unions.

A meeting of the national steel commission of the Communist Party was held in Chicago, Illinois, on March 28-29, 1959, attended by Party leaders from the various industrial areas in the East and Midwest. A Communist Party functionary advocated, among other things, the holding of a series of Marxist classes for non-Party members employed in the steel industry. This Party functionary stated that the Party's propaganda should emphasize to the steel workers that trade with the Soviet Union would mean jobs for the unemployed and greater security.

A meeting of the national auto commission of the Communist Party was held in Chicago on June 13-14, 1959. At this meeting, the Communist Party leaders present agreed that the Communist Party should do everything possible to generate activities among rank-and-file members regarding the forthcoming United Auto Workers convention and attempt to place delegates in the convention that the Communist Party could influence.

Education and Propaganda:

During the past few months, there has been a noted increase in the number of Communist Party schools and classes being held throughout the United States. Typical of these Marxist schools was one held in Detroit, Michigan, from March 7 to 15, 1959. Hyman Lumer, national Communist Party educational director, and Carl Winter, Michigan Communist Party chairman, who were the instructors, used "Ten Classics of Marxism" as the principal text.

Particular emphasis has been placed by the Party on holding youth schools which include not only those to indoctrinate young people in the theories of Marxism-Leninism but also to teach Communist Party members how to work with youth. Hyman Lumer taught an indoctrination class for young people at Communist Party headquarters in New York City where the subject matter related to the development of socialism in the United States.

At the present time, Hyman Lumer is planning to conduct Communist Party leadership training schools in Detroit, Los Angeles and Seattle where the courses of instruction will include such topics as "Classes and Class Struggle," "Capitalist Exploitation," "Modern Capitalism," "The Negro Question," "The Party" and "The Youth." It is anticipated that local Communist Party leaders will be used to supplement the instruction being given the students at these schools by Lumer.

The New York State Communist Party educational committee has, from time to time, issued discussion guides and outlines which have been distributed to all Party districts. Documents such as "The Cuban Revolution and the Tasks of the Communist Party, USA," and "Workers of the World Unite!!!, 1959 Celebration of May Day, for Peace, Jobs, Shorter Workweek, Civil Liberties and Social Progress," have been issued as discussion outlines to make available material for use in club and section meetings.

"The Worker" continues to be one of the Party's primary outlets for propaganda attacks against the United States. All kinds of devices are being used to obtain money to continue the operation of the newspaper. For example, by letter to all Communist Party districts dated May 1, 1959, William L. Patterson advised of the availability of collapsible pocket coin boxes to be used during the fund drive. Every Party member and close friend was urged to carry one of these boxes at all times.

"The Worker" also announced a price increase effective May 1, 1959. Individual copies of the paper now sell for 15 cents while yearly subscriptions were advanced to $5. The west coast communist newspaper, "People's World," recently announced that 1958 was the first time in 12 years that its loan obligations did not rise. It was hoped that outstanding loans could be reduced further in 1959.

The main propaganda media of the Party continue to be:

1. "The Worker" - published weekly in New York City
2. "People's World" - published weekly in San Francisco
3. "Political Affairs" - published monthly in New York City
4. "Mainstream" - published monthly in New York City

As of February, 1959, "The Worker" claimed a weekly circulation of 14,332 copies, while in January, 1959, "People's World" had a weekly circulation of 7,044 copies.

In December, 1958, Hyman Lumer stated the circulation of "Political Affairs" had become stabilized at 5,500 copies per month.

The most recent figures, obtained in February, 1959, disclosed the circulation of "Mainstream" to be approximately 2,750 copies per month.

Smith Act Prosecutions:

From July 20, 1948, to the present time, 145 functionaries of the Communist Party, USA, have been indicted under provisions of Title 18, U. S. Code, Section 2385, commonly known as the Smith Act of 1940. One hundred and thirty-seven of these functionaries were indicted on charges of conspiring to teach and advocate the necessity of overthrowing the U. S. Government by force and violence. The remaining eight were indicted under the so-called "membership provision" of the Smith Act which prohibits membership in an organization which has for its purpose the overthrow of the Government by force and violence. Knowledge by the indicted person of the purpose of the organization must also be proved. In addition, membership indictments remain outstanding against nine of the 11 defendants who were convicted in the first New York conspiracy trial and a similar indictment remains outstanding against William Z. Foster, chairman emeritus of the Communist Party, USA, who has not been tried due to illness.

As of June 30, 1959, 107 of the 145 indicted subjects have been tried and convicted. One hundred and three convictions were under the conspiracy charge (six of these representing reconvictions following a retrial order by a Circuit Court of Appeals) and four convictions were under the membership charge (one of which represented a reconviction following a retrial ordered by the Supreme Court). One hundred and six of the 107 convicted defendants received sentences totaling 436 years and one day and were fined $432,500. One of the four functionaries

convicted under the membership charge has not been sentenced. Three of the defendants convicted under the conspiracy charge are serving their sentences and 26 have been released upon completion of their sentences.

As a result of rulings by the U. S. Supreme Court and various Circuit Courts of Appeals, there remains, as of June 30, 1959, a total of 39 convictions under this Act. Some of the defendants who were originally convicted were acquitted outright by appellate courts while the cases of others were remanded for new trials. All except two of the conspiracy cases remanded for new trials and two of the membership cases remanded for new trials were subsequently dropped by the Government. In addition, cases against 18 defendants were dropped by the Government prior to trial.

As of June 30, 1959, trials and retrials pending are as follows:

(1) six defendants awaiting retrial under the conspiracy charge;

(2) one defendant awaiting retrial under the membership charge; and

(3) two defendants awaiting trial under the membership charge.

Internal Security Act of 1950:

Details concerning the action taken against the Communist Party, USA, under the Internal Security Act of 1950 have been set forth in previous summaries. Since the preparation of the last summary, the following developments have taken place.

The rehearing of this matter before the Subversive Activities Control Board was concluded on January 9, 1959, and on February 9, 1959, the Board held for the third time that the Communist Party, USA, is a communist action organization within the purview of the Internal Security Act of 1950 and should register as such with the Attorney General. The case was returned to the District of Columbia Court of Appeals with the recommendation that the order of the Subversive Activities Control Board be upheld. Following the filing of briefs by attorneys for the Communist Party and for the Government, oral argument was heard before the District of Columbia Court of Appeals on May 18, 1959. As of June 30, 1959, this court had not handed down a decision.

Political Activities:

In February, 1959, the Communist Party of Illinois issued a 15-page brochure entitled "People Must Come First in Chicago - 1959 Election Platform, Communist Party of Illinois." This pamphlet urges labor, the Negro people, farmers and other democratic forces to build powerful, independent political-action organizations in order to influence the outcome of the 1960 elections. Major issues are to be brought into focus and from this coalition a new "party of the people" might be formed. The Party line on local issues is set forth on such matters as: public housing, unemployment compensation, health, transportation, integration, schools and jobs and trade. Page 15 of this brochure contains the Party's insight for the future:

> "The Communist Party believes that the basic problems of our country will be solved finally when leadership of the nation passes from the hands of those who live by profit into the hands of those who live by labor. This is Socialism.
>
> "This will come at a time when the people will decide. The Communist Party directs its efforts toward helping the people, - through the experiences learned in the fight for peace, democracy and security, - to use to their destiny of bringing forth in this country a new society dedicated to the abolition of exploitation of man by man, and consecrated to the brotherhood and friendship of all mankind."

How to participate in the 1960 elections is a problem that is being ironed out by leaders of the Communist Party, USA. Opinions differ among the Party hierarchy as to what road to travel: work within the two major political parties or organize a third party. The political resolution to be presented to the national convention of the Communist Party, USA, to be held late this year will probably include a review of the economic and the political situations in the United States, a view of American foreign policy, civil rights issues, communist peace overtures and objections to current labor reform bills. Although a third party is desirable, the majority of the leaders feel that it is best to influence the primaries of the two major political parties. They believe conditions are not just right at this time to organize a third party unless the situation changes radically prior to 1960. A bid for a "peace party," a "labor party" or a "labor-farmer-Negro party" by some functionaries seems to have been beaten. Instead, communists will urge the support of candidates who advocate peace, who demand the rights of Negroes and who defend the rights of labor, as these terms are interpreted by the Party.

"The American working class has no mass political party and is notoriously weak" writes William Z. Foster in his article, "The Struggle for a Mass Labor Party in the U. S." This article appears in the May, 1959, issue of "Political Affairs." Foster says that the monopolists have kept much of the political strength of the American working class locked within the two-Party system although he says that this condition is now changing. He feels, however, that there are no prospects for a third party in 1960. Many problems present themselves to the workers because of a deepening crisis in the capitalist system - problems which cannot be answered under the traditional two-party system. Foster writes: "The creation of a strong labor party, which will eventually develop, will be of major importance, not only to the American working class, but to the labor movement of the world. Especially it will release new and powerful peace forces in the heartland of the war danger."

PART TWO

District Organization:

The Party continues to implement its various objectives and programs throughout the United States by district organizations. According to the constitution, these district organizations are established by the national committee and may cover part of one state, one entire state or two or more states. Where a district organization covers more than one state, the various state committees are under the jurisdiction of a district committee.

The organizational structure is further divided into county, city, section and club organizations. The basic element of the Party structure is the club which may be constituted on an electoral subdivision, neighborhood, town, shop or industry basis. Every member must strive to carry out the program of the Party, circulate its press and literature, increase his knowledge of communism and attend club meetings regularly.

At the present time the Party is operating on the basis of 22 districts. The identities of the principal district functionaries, location of district headquarters (if any) and the estimated Communist Party membership in the various established districts are set forth hereinafter. The identities of those areas in which there is no formal Party organization are also set forth along with the estimated Party membership.

NEW ENGLAND DISTRICT
(MASSACHUSETTS, MAINE, VERMONT, NEW HAMPSHIRE, RHODE ISLAND)

A. PRINCIPAL DISTRICT FUNCTIONARIES

Homer Bates Chase - Organizer
Otis Archer Hood - Chairman
Ann Burlak Timpson - Treasurer
Benjamin Landey - Executive Secretary

B. LOCATION OF DISTRICT HEADQUARTERS

No formal headquarters are maintained.

C. ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP

125

CONNECTICUT DISTRICT
(CONNECTICUT)

A. PRINCIPAL DISTRICT FUNCTIONARIES

Sidney Taylor - Acts in capacity of State Chairman
Robert Champion Ekins - Leader in Hartford Area
Jacob Goldring - Leader in Bridgeport Area

B. LOCATION OF DISTRICT HEADQUARTERS

No formal headquarters are maintained; however, the Communist Party of Connecticut continues to utilize Post Office Box 108, Bridgeport, Connecticut.

C. ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP

36

NEW YORK DISTRICT
(NEW YORK)

A. PRINCIPAL DISTRICT FUNCTIONARIES

Benjamin Davis - Chairman
William Albertson - Secretary
Allan Laws - Acting Treasurer
William Weinstone - Education Secretary
Milton Rosen - Labor Secretary
Betty Gannett - Educational Director

B. LOCATION OF DISTRICT HEADQUARTERS

23 West 26th Street, New York, New York

C. ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP

2,318

EASTERN PENNSYLVANIA AND DELAWARE DISTRICT
(EASTERN PENNSYLVANIA AND DELAWARE)

A. PRINCIPAL DISTRICT FUNCTIONARIES

Thomas Nabried - Chairman
Abe Sokolov - Treasurer
James Dolsen - Press Director
William H. Hinton - Educational Director

B. LOCATION OF DISTRICT HEADQUARTERS

Suite 708, Shubert Building, 250 South Broad Street,
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

C. ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP

175

WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA DISTRICT
(WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA)

A. PRINCIPAL DISTRICT FUNCTIONARIES

Vacant - Chairman
Alex Steinberg - Treasurer

B. LOCATION OF DISTRICT HEADQUARTERS

No formal headquarters are maintained.

C. ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP

52

NEW JERSEY DISTRICT
(NEW JERSEY)

A. PRINCIPAL DISTRICT FUNCTIONARIES

Patrick Toohey - Chairman
Lottie Gordon - Organizational Secretary
Maurice Mann - Financial Secretary and Treasurer

B. LOCATION OF DISTRICT HEADQUARTERS

5 East Alpine Street, Newark, New Jersey

C. ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP

290

MARYLAND - DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA DISTRICT
(MARYLAND AND THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA)

A. PRINCIPAL DISTRICT FUNCTIONARIES

George Meyers - Acting Chairman
Thelma Gerende Eanet - Secretary-Treasurer

B. LOCATION OF DISTRICT HEADQUARTERS

No formal headquarters are maintained; however, Post Office Box 1011, Baltimore, Maryland, is used as a mailing address.

C. ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP

70

OHIO DISTRICT
(OHIO, PANHANDLE SECTION OF WEST VIRGINIA)

A. PRINCIPAL DISTRICT FUNCTIONARIES

Anthony Krchmarek - Chairman
Martin Chancey - Acting Secretary

B. LOCATION OF DISTRICT HEADQUARTERS

No formal headquarters are maintained.

C. ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP

255

MICHIGAN DISTRICT
(MICHIGAN)

A. PRINCIPAL DISTRICT FUNCTIONARIES

Carl Winter - Chairman
Thomas De Witt Dennis, Jr. - Organizational Secretary
Paul Brooks - Press Director

B. LOCATION OF DISTRICT HEADQUARTERS

2419 Grand River, Detroit, Michigan

C. ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP

225

INDIANA DISTRICT
(INDIANA)

A. PRINCIPAL DISTRICT FUNCTIONARIES

Emanuel Blum - Chairman
Vaud Bennett - Organizational Secretary
Simon Boorda - Financial Secretary

B. LOCATION OF DISTRICT HEADQUARTERS

No formal headquarters are maintained.

C. ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP

60

The Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

ILLINOIS DISTRICT
(DAVENPORT AND BETTENDORF AREAS OF IOWA AND STATE OF ILLINOIS EXCLUDING EAST ST. LOUIS AREA)

A. PRINCIPAL DISTRICT FUNCTIONARIES

Claude Lightfoot - Chairman
Sam Kushner - Vice Chairman
James West - Executive Secretary

B. LOCATION OF DISTRICT HEADQUARTERS

Room 806, 36 West Randolph Street, Chicago, Illinois

C. ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP

585

WISCONSIN DISTRICT
(WISCONSIN)

A. PRINCIPAL DISTRICT FUNCTIONARIES

Fred Bassett Blair - Acting Chairman
Mary Keith Blair - Treasurer
Sigmund Gustav Eisenscher - Chairman, Milwaukee County Communist Party

B. LOCATION OF DISTRICT HEADQUARTERS

No formal headquarters are maintained.

C. ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP

125

MINNESOTA - DAKOTAS DISTRICT
(MINNESOTA, NORTH DAKOTA, SOUTH DAKOTA)

A. PRINCIPAL DISTRICT FUNCTIONARIES

Martin Mackie - Chairman (On indefinite leave of absence)
Clarence Sharp - Vice Chairman
Sam Davis - Acting Secretary
Sigrid Pierson - Press Director
Clarence Hathaway - Chairman, Education and Propaganda Committee

B. LOCATION OF DISTRICT HEADQUARTERS

Room 206, Upper Midwest Building, 415 Hennepin Avenue, Minneapolis, Minnesota (space rented under name of "Worker" and is also used as a bookstore and literature outlet).

C. ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP

218

MISSOURI DISTRICT
(MISSOURI, EAST ST. LOUIS, ILLINOIS, GREATER KANSAS CITY)

A. PRINCIPAL DISTRICT FUNCTIONARIES

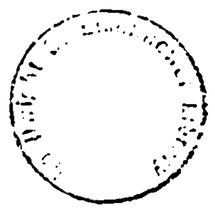
Herschel Walker - Chairman
William Henry Holland - Treasurer

B. LOCATION OF DISTRICT HEADQUARTERS

No formal headquarters are maintained.

C. ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP

78



ROCKY MOUNTAIN DISTRICT
(UTAH, COLORADO, NEW MEXICO, WYOMING,
17 WESTERN COUNTIES OF TEXAS)

A. PRINCIPAL DISTRICT FUNCTIONARIES

Anna Correa Bary - Member of National Committee, Communist Party, USA, and Head of Communist Party in Colorado
Wayne Dallas Holley - Head of Communist Party in Utah

B. LOCATION OF DISTRICT HEADQUARTERS

No formal headquarters are maintained.

C. ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP

31

MONTANA DISTRICT
(MONTANA)

A. PRINCIPAL DISTRICT FUNCTIONARIES

George Little - State Chairman
Frank Foster - Financial Secretary

B. LOCATION OF DISTRICT HEADQUARTERS

No formal headquarters are maintained.

C. ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP

30

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA DISTRICT
(CALIFORNIA, EXCLUSIVE OF COUNTIES NORTH OF SANTA BARBARA AND KERN COUNTIES)

A. PRINCIPAL DISTRICT FUNCTIONARIES

Dorothy Healey - Chairman
Ben Dobbs - Executive Secretary
James Forest - Educational Director
Charlene Mitchell - Administrative Secretary
Bernard Lusher - Labor Secretary
Nemmy Sparks - Legislative Director
Frank Whitley - Chairman, Negro Affairs Commission
Lee Major - Chairman, San Diego County Communist Party

B. LOCATION OF DISTRICT HEADQUARTERS

524 South Spring Street, Los Angeles, California

C. ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP

807

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA DISTRICT
(CALIFORNIA, NORTH OF KERN AND SANTA BARBARA COUNTIES)

A. PRINCIPAL DISTRICT FUNCTIONARIES

Albert (Mickey) Lima - Chairman
Joseph Figueiredo - Member, District Committee
Al Richmond - Member, District Committee and Executive Editor, "People's World"
William Schneiderman - Member, District Committee
Hyman Seigel - Financial Secretary
Billie Wachter - Financial and Membership Secretary, East Bay Region

B. LOCATION OF DISTRICT HEADQUARTERS

Rooms 410-411, 942 Market Street, San Francisco, California

C. ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP

460

NORTHWEST DISTRICT
(WASHINGTON, IDAHO, ALASKA)

A. PRINCIPAL DISTRICT FUNCTIONARIES

Burt Gale Nelson - District Chairman
Milford Adolf Sutherland - District Secretary

B. LOCATION OF DISTRICT HEADQUARTERS

No formal headquarters are maintained.

C. ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP

221

OREGON DISTRICT
(OREGON)

A. PRINCIPAL DISTRICT FUNCTIONARIES

Norman Haaland - District Chairman
Cassie Jones - District Secretary

B. LOCATION OF DISTRICT HEADQUARTERS

No formal headquarters are maintained.

C. ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP

51

OKLAHOMA - ARKANSAS DISTRICT
(OKLAHOMA AND ARKANSAS)

A. PRINCIPAL DISTRICT FUNCTIONARIES

Ronnie Singerman - Oklahoma State Chairman
Clarence Alva Lewis - Oklahoma State Financial Secretary
Paul Williams - Oklahoma State Educational Director
Simon Spradlin - Oklahoma State Organizational Director

B. LOCATION OF DISTRICT HEADQUARTERS

No formal headquarters are maintained.

C. ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP

12

SOUTHERN REGION
(ALABAMA, FLORIDA, GEORGIA, LOUISIANA, MISSISSIPPI, NORTH CAROLINA, SOUTH CAROLINA, TENNESSEE, TEXAS, WITH EXCEPTION OF THE EL PASO AREA, AND VIRGINIA)

The direction and control of the Southern Region are under the jurisdiction of the Southern Regional Committee located in the Communist Party, USA, headquarters at New York City. James E. Jackson, secretary for Southern affairs of the Communist Party, USA, is the principal functionary of the Southern Regional Committee.

The principal functionaries and the estimated membership within the states comprising the Southern Region are as follows:

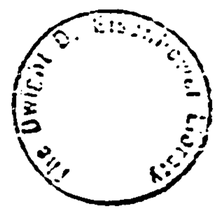
ALABAMA

A. PRINCIPAL FUNCTIONARIES

Mary Baber Knox - Recognized as leader of the Communist Party in Alabama

B. ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP

5



FLORIDA

A. PRINCIPAL FUNCTIONARIES

Bertha Teplow - Communist Party organizer for State of Florida

B. ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP

37

GEORGIA

A. PRINCIPAL FUNCTIONARIES

The Communist Party in the State of Georgia has had no known organizer since 1950.

B. ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP

5

LOUISIANA

A. PRINCIPAL FUNCTIONARIES

Junesh Modianos Jenkins - Recognized as leader of the Communist Party in Louisiana

B. ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP

22

MISSISSIPPI

A. PRINCIPAL FUNCTIONARIES

No functionaries are assigned.

B. ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP

None

NORTH CAROLINA

A. PRINCIPAL FUNCTIONARIES

No functionaries are assigned.

B. ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP

14

SOUTH CAROLINA

A. PRINCIPAL FUNCTIONARIES

No functionaries are assigned.

B. ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP

None

TENNESSEE

A. PRINCIPAL FUNCTIONARIES

No functionaries are assigned.

B. ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP

None

TEXAS
(EXCLUSIVE OF EL PASO AREA)

A. PRINCIPAL FUNCTIONARIES

Augustin Estrada - Chairman of the Texas State Communist Party Board and Acting Head of the Communist Party in Texas

John Stanford - Executive Secretary

B. ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP

34

VIRGINIA

A. PRINCIPAL FUNCTIONARIES

Mary Solomon Kalb - Chairman of State Executive Committee
Louis Kalb - Chairman of Richmond Branch

B. ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP

13

STATES IN WHICH THERE IS NO FORMAL COMMUNIST PARTY ORGANIZATION BUT IN WHICH COMMUNIST PARTY ACTIVITIES ARE CARRIED OUT BY INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS

STATE	ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP
Arizona	23
Iowa	8
Kansas	2
Kentucky	0
Nebraska	12
Nevada	0
West Virginia (Exclusive of the four "Panhandle Counties")	8

TERRITORY OF HAWAII

A. PRINCIPAL DISTRICT FUNCTIONARIES

There is no formal Communist Party organization in Hawaii and no official leadership is known to exist.

B. LOCATION OF DISTRICT HEADQUARTERS

No formal headquarters are maintained.

C. ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP

None

William D. Eisenhower

COMMONWEALTH OF PUERTO RICO
Partido Comunista Puertorriqueno)
(Communist Party of Puerto Rico)

A. PRINCIPAL DISTRICT FUNCTIONARIES

Juan Santos Rivera - Secretary General and President
Gertrudis Melendez Rivera - Treasurer

B. LOCATION OF DISTRICT HEADQUARTERS

No formal headquarters are maintained.

C. ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP

15

E X H I B I T S

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, NATIONAL COMMITTEE

MEMBERS AT LARGE

NAME	DISTRICT
1. Charlene Mitchell	(Southern California)
2. Claude Lightfoot	(Illinois)
3. James Jackson	(New York)
4. Dorothy Healey	(Southern California)
5. Benjamin J. Davis	(New York)
6. Eugene Dennis	(New York)
7. William Z. Foster	(New York)
8. Earl Durham	(Illinois)
9. Carl Winter	(Michigan)
10. John C. Hellman	(Montana)
11. Anna Correa Bary	(Colorado)
12. Al Richmond	(Northern California)
13. Charles Loman	(New York)

MEMBERS ELECTED BY VARIOUS DISTRICTS

NEW YORK

1. Mildred McAdory
2. Simon Gerson
3. William Weinstone
4. Jesus Colon
5. Joseph Johnstone
6. Nat Rosenbluth
7. Louis Weinstock
8. Lloyd Louis Brown
9. Milton Rosen
10. William Colavito
11. William Albertson

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

1. Benjamin Dobbs

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA

1. Albert Jason Lima
2. Joseph Figueiredo
3. William Schneiderman

ILLINOIS

1. Ralph Turner
2. Flora Hall
3. Sam Kushner
4. Mollie West

NEW JERSEY

1. Patrick Toohey

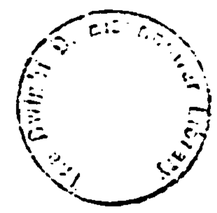


EXHIBIT A

MEMBERS ELECTED BY VARIOUS DISTRICTS (Continued)

EASTERN PENNSYLVANIA AND DELAWARE

1. Jankel Taib
2. Thomas Nabried

MICHIGAN

1. Nat Ganley
2. Thomas Dennis

OHIO

1. Hyman Lumer
2. Anton Krchmarek

SOUTH

1. Mary Kalb
2. Hosea Hudson

NEW ENGLAND

1. Robert Fouse Goodwin

WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA

1. Steve Nelson

MARYLAND

1. George A. Meyers

INDIANA

1. Emanuel Blum

MINNESOTA

1. Clarence Sharp

WISCONSIN

1. Alan Shaw

OREGON

1. Norman Haaland

ROCKY MOUNTAIN

*1.

WASHINGTON

1. Burt Nelson

*This will be left vacant.

SMITH ACT SUBJECTS WHO HAVE BEEN ADDED TO NATIONAL COMMITTEE

1. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn
2. Robert Thompson
3. Pettis Perry
4. Jack Stachel
5. Irving Potash
6. Gus Hall

Dwight D. Eisenhower Library